

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 PEKING 01321 110437Z  
ACTION EA-12

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P R 110352Z MAY 78  
FM USLO PEKING  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 0675  
INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG  
AMEMBASSY TOKYO  
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

C O N F I D E N T I A L PEKING 1321

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PINT CH  
SUBJ: PEOPLE'S DAILY DISCUSSES PASSIVE RESISTANCE TO NEW POLICIES

1. SUMMARY. A LONG ARTICLE IN THE MAY 9 PEOPLE'S DAILY TIES CONTINUED EXPOSURE OF THE GANG OF FOUR AND CONTINUED CRITICISM OF THE GANG'S "RESIDUAL IDEOLOGICAL POISON AND INFLUENCE" TO SUCCESS IN CARRYING OUT THE FOUR MODERNIZATIONS. THE ARTICLE CANDIDLY ADDRESSES CONCERNS -- APPARENTLY FAIRLY WIDESPREAD EVEN TODAY - THAT TENG HSIAO-PING'S POLICIES ARE "IGNORING POLITICS" AND LEADING CHINA TO REVISIONISM. TO COMBAT THIS THE AUTHOR PRESCRIBES MASS STRUGGLE AGAINST LEADERS STILL ENGAGED IN COVER-UP AND CONTINUED EXPOSURE OF THE GANG'S POLICIES AND IDEOLOGICAL POSITIONS. ALTHOUGH THE SENSITIVE TERM "COVER-UP" IS USED, TARGETS OF THIS ARTICLE ARE LESS RANKING LEADERS THAN A GENERAL INERTIA AND MALAISE IN CHINESE SOCIETY. END SUMMARY.

2. A LONG ARTICLE IN THE MAY 9 PEOPLE'S DAILY PENNED BY CHENG TEH-CHENG (WHO IS UNKNOWN TO US BUT NOT NECESSARILY A PSEUDONYM) TIES  
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CONTINUED EXPOSURE OF THE GANG OF FOUR AND CONTINUED CRITICISM OF THE GANG'S "IDEOLOGICAL POISON AND INFLUENCE" TO SUCCESS IN CARRYING OUT THE FOUR MODERNIZATIONS.

3. CHANG DECLARES THAT "INVESTIGATION WORK HAS BEEN FUNDAMENTALLY COMPLETED" IN THE NATION AS A WHOLE. BUT HE QUICKLY ADDS THAT THE PROCESS HAS BEEN UNEVEN, THAT GANG SUPPORTERS AND THEIR

FACTIONAL SYSTEMS ARE STILL INTACT IN A FEW AREAS, AND THAT SOME PERSONS AND UNITS ARE EVEN DEEPLY INVOLVED IN COVER-UP ACTIVITIES SUPPRESSING AND STRIKING AT INDIVIDUALS WHO ATTEMPT TO EXPOSE LINKS WITH THE GANG OF FOUR.

4. CHANG TREADS ON SENSITIVE TURF IN RAISING THE CASE OF FORMER HEILUNGKIANG FIRST SECRETARY LIU KUANG-TAO, PURGED FOR ALLEGEDLY MASTERMINDING A MASSIVE COVER-UP OF HIS PERSONAL AND HIS PROVINCE'S TIES TO THE GANG OF FOUR. CALLING FOR MOBILIZATION OF THE MASSES TO REPORT AND EXPOSE SUCH PERSONS STILL IN THEIR POSTS, CHANG ASKS RHETORICALLY: "DIDN'T THE FORMER RESPONSIBLE PERSON OF THE HEILUNGKIANG PARTY COMMITTEE DESPERATELY CLAMP THE LID ON (I.E. COVER UP)? AND WHAT WAS THE RESULT? WASN'T IT THAT HE WAS SMASHED BY THE MASSES?"

5. FOR POLITICALLY AWARE CHINESE, REFERENCE TO THE PURGED LIU KUANG-TAO IS ALREADY A CODE PHRASE FOR PEKING PARTY BOSS WU TEH AND PERHAPS FOR LIAONING'S TSENG SHAO-SHAN AS WELL. PARALLELS BETWEEN LIU'S COVER-UP IN HEILUNGKIANG AND WU'S COVER-UP IN PEKING WERE MADE FAIRLY EXPLICIT IN EARLIER PEOPLE'S DAILY COMMENTARY ON THE HEILUNGKIANG SITUATION; WALLPOSTERS AT TIEN AN MEN THIS APRIL NAMED WU AS THE FOREMOST PRACTITIONER CURRENTLY OF THE SORT OF COVER-UP THAT BROUGHT LIU DOWN.

6. BUT THE TRUE TARGETS OF THIS ARTICLE ARE LESS RANKING  
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LEADERS THAN A GENERAL MALAISE AND INERTIA IN CHINESE SOCIETY BORN OF IDEOLOGICAL CONFUSION AND FEAR THAT THE PENDULUM MAY SWING BACK ONCE AGAIN. IN UNUSUALLY CANDID TERMS CHANG ADDRESSES CONCERNS -- ACKNOWLEDGED TO BE FAIRLY WIDESPREAD EVEN TODAY -- THAT CURRENT POLICIES ARE "IGNORING POLITICS" AND TAKING CHINA DOWN THE PATH TO REVISIONISM. ALMOST PLAINATIVELY, CHANG DECLARES THAT "EVEN TODAY" THERE IS HESITATION AND FEAR OF COMMITTING ANOTHER MISTAKE WITH REGARD TO THE NEW POLICIES OF PAYMENT ACCORDING TO LABOR, MATERIAL INCENTIVES, AND BONUSES.

7. ASIDE FROM CALCULATED SABOTAGE BY THE FEW REMAINING SUPPORTERS AND ALLIES OF THE GANG OF FOUR, THIS CONFUSION IS BLAMED ON DOMINATION OF THE PROPAGANDA/IDEOLOGICAL APPARATUS BY CHANG CHUN-CHIAO, YAO WEN-YUAN AND THEIR SUBORDINATES FOR SO MANY YEARS. HENCE, THE PRIMARY TASK IN THE ENTIRE COUNTRY IS DEFINED AS THOROUGHLY CLARIFYING AND ELIMINATING THE RESIDUAL POISON AND INFLUENCE OF THE GANG OF FOUR.

8. ALTHOUGH AUTHOR CHANG DOES NOT SAY SO, IT IS CLEAR THAT HE IS DISCUSSING THE PROGRAM OF TENG HSIAO-PING. THE GANG

OF FOUR -- AND MAO TSE-TUNG, IT SHOULD BE REMEMBERED --  
TAGGED TENG WITH THE EPITHET "THE BIGGEST CAPITALIST  
ROADER IN CHINA" AS LATE AS 1976. SURELY THERE ARE GENUINE DOUBTS  
ABOUT TENG AND HIS PROGRAM EXPERIENCED BY THOSE STEEPED IN THE  
PROPAGANDA OF 1973-76. AND MANY OTHERS, NOTING THAT TENG IS AGING  
AND NOT NECESSARILY DESTINED TO BE ON THE SCENE IN A FEW YEARS,  
ARE UNDERSTANDABLY RELUCTANT TO BACK TENG'S CLEARLY REVISIONIST  
POLICIES, ESPECIALLY WHEN A SUBSTANTIAL NUMBER OF THE NATION'S  
LEADERS (HEADED AND SYMBOLIZED BY CHAIRMAN HUA) SUPPORTED AND  
BENEFITTED FROM THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION  
WOODCOCK

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